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Remarks prepared for delivery by
Secretary Elizabeth Hanford Dole
American Women in Radio and Television
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It is a great pleasure to be with you today.

Your gracious invitation has again caught me in a personal transition period. I last spoke to the American Women in Radio and Television in October, 1978, shortly before I left the Federal Trade Commission in 1979 to join my husband's campaign for the Presidency. This invitation came, of course, while I was still at the White House as the President's Assistant for Public Liaison.

So I stand before you today in a more or less dual capacity -- as one who has held several thousand meetings with representatives of business, labor, agriculture and a diversity of interest groups ranging from women to veterans, and also as the President's new Secretary of Transportation. A state of transition is not uncommon for me and perhaps not for many of you. As women, we have been involved for the past 20 years or so in a quiet revolution. We have been making the transition to important new roles that utilize our skills and motivation. All across this country millions of women are taking advantage of new opportunities and their horizons are broadening.

My oath of office last week was administered by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, who upon completing law school, was offered a legal secretary's position and is now the first woman to sit on the Supreme Court of the United States. And, of course, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, a fellow member of the Cabinet and the first woman Ambassador to the United Nations, is turning in an outstanding performance.

Today, I find myself at the head of an organization with 102,018 employees and a proposed budget of \$27 billion. Ultimately, I'm in charge of one branch of the Armed Services -- the Coast Guard is our oldest continuing seagoing Armed Service. Of course, the Coast Guard not only saves life and property -- as it did Sunday morning when a coal ship sank off the coast of Virginia -- but polices our shores and is ready to defend them in time of war. My management responsibilities include two four-year colleges -- the Merchant Marine Academy and the Coast Guard Academy -- and the well-being of a national transportation system that spans air, sea, highways, rail and urban transportation.

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On the job just one week, I inherited an attempted truckers shutdown, with initial violence. We worked with the states to assure that the truckers who wanted to keep working, or wanted to go back to work, would have the maximum protection that the law could provide. In the aftermath we remain concerned and will continue to be available to work with all responsible representatives of the trucking industry in those regulatory areas where we can be of assistance in meeting truckers' needs. I am confident we will now be better able to address those issues calmly and in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

I shall testify Thursday before the Senate Appropriations Committee on our 1984 budget -- and some of the priorities of the Department of Transportation. I am already at work on such matters as continued deregulation and maritime regulatory reform, upgrading the national airspace system to accommodate anticipated growth through the year 2000, implementing the Surface Transportation Assistance Act of 1982. These are only a few among a number of priorities not the least of which is the safety of our entire transportation system.

And, I want to express my deepest appreciation to members of the American Women in Radio and Television for your work not only in the seat belt safety campaign, but in insuring that the public service advertisements on teenage drunk driving were placed on so many radio and television stations across this country.

But today, as women who share the challenges of management, let us look for a moment at the quiet revolution taking place in America today, a revolution inspired by the changing aspirations of women and by the changing needs of society.

I recall a day in September 1962 when I entered Harvard Law School, one of 25 women in a class of 550 prospective movers, shakers and Wall Street lions. There were few lionesses back then. I'll never forget being accosted by a male classmate on my very first day at Harvard, who demanded to know what I was doing there.

"Don't you realize," he said in tones of moral outrage, "that there are men who'd give their right arm for your place in law school? Men who would use their legal education?"

That was my first -- but by no means my final -- exposure to chauvinism in the shadow of Frankfurter and Pound. Once each semester, there was Professor Leach's Ladies Day -- when our otherwise ignored cadre of female scholars would sit before the class and answer questions -- after beginning the ritual with a poem. It was at times like that when I gained a uniquely personal insight into how the early Christians must have felt while performing for the good people of Rome -- in the Coliseum.

My colleagues at Harvard seemed to have forgotten that the figure of Justice is a woman. They seemed oblivious to the psychological barriers they had erected, ignorant of the fears they inspired or the doubts they nurtured.

Women in 1962 did a lot of wondering. We wondered if there would be jobs when we got out of school. We wondered if we would be accepted by the masculine domain of the legal world, where law books and leather chairs alike tended to be reserved for "old boys" whatever their age.

We wondered at times whether life on the frontier would ever evolve into real civilization -- and whether we were doomed to go through our professional lives as the sole female in an audience of tolerant -- at best -- males. Of my own classmates at Harvard, Susan Shapiro today is a partner at Ropes and Gray in Boston. Elizabeth Holtzman is District Attorney in Brooklyn. Stephanie Seemore sits on the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals in Tulsa. Jane Roth is a partner in a Delaware firm. For them as for others, the wondering is over. Success has taken its place, the product of a generation of long hours and lofty ambitions.

Yes, we've made progress, but there are still the problems. Even now, too many Americans practice a subtle form of discrimination. Less obvious than the law, more insidious than verbal prejudice, it's called patronization, and it undercuts women just as surely as the old barriers of statute and custom.

Social critic Marya Mannes put it best, I think, when she wrote the following: "Nobody objects to a woman being a good writer or sculptor or geneticist if, at the same time, she manages to be a good wife, a good mother, good-looking, good-tempered, well-dressed, well-groomed and unaggressive."

In other words, in today's society we are faced with the tyranny of perfection. You, too, can be treated the same as a man -- so long as you out perform him. For all our gains, roadblocks still remain on the path to prosperity and job satisfaction. Large segments of our economy continue to regard millions of women as consumers instead of producers. Too many employers regard too many working women as pursuers of pin money -- and pay them accordingly, about 3/5th, on average, of a man's salary, despite educational backgrounds that may be identical.

We know that 46 percent of women with children under the age of six are working; and 63 percent of women with children between six and 17 years are working.

The economic plight of today's American woman is even greater than it was a few decades ago because the number of families headed by women has tripled. One out of three of these families which depend on women for their sole source of support lives below the poverty line.

As the President's former principal assistant for outreach to the public, I am proud to have had a hand in shaping the Administration's policy on women as outlined briefly in the President's recent State of the Union message. It is a strong policy, a responsive policy, a policy constructed from the input of the scores of women's organizations and sensitive individuals with whom I have the privilege of working.

With this dramatic change in the workforce today, we in this Administration believe economic equity is the first order of business for women.

We will address equal pay, pension reform, child support and the other economic issues that concern the majority of women.

In the early days of the Administration it became a priority in cutting taxes to ease the marriage penalty, and to all but eliminate estate taxes, permitting for the first time a spouse to inherit a farm or business intact.

The President has provided incentives to help working mothers with child care. The tax credit was raised from \$400 to \$720 and those who do not itemize will find next year a line for the child care tax credit on the 1040A short form, so that low income families can take advantage of the tax credit. Additional Administration initiatives in cooperation with the private sector are contemplated for the near future.

The President's policies have reduced inflation. This means an increase of about \$700 in real income for women earning \$11,000 annually.

It is no secret to the older woman that she is now a member of the fastest growing poverty group in America. Some 81 percent of women over 65 not residing with relatives live below the poverty line. Inequities in pension laws are part of the reason. Reform of the pension process is a top priority.

A heart-rending issue that came up frequently in my discussions with women's groups these past months was child support. The President has expressed his determination to launch an all-out campaign to "strengthen enforcement of child support laws to ensure that single parents, most of whom are women, do not suffer unfair financial hardship."

The public sector can and should do all in its power to make ours an economy color-blind to blue and pink, as well as black and white. But ever since my days on the Federal Trade Commission, I've been keeping one hand on the pulse of the private sector, particularly American business, and measuring the slow but steady growth in female recruitment and utilization.

I think you would agree that the organizational culture of American business is still primarily a male culture. It would appear that effective management has always been defined in masculine terms. Why? Because most managers have been men. Current standards of what we call an effective management style still emphasize male traits. A study conducted at the Wharton School indicated that the personality traits viewed as requisites of good management by male managers are traits perceived in men, but not in women. This may help to explain why it seems that women are sometimes perceived as less effective in management jobs. They may not be given opportunities simply because they are measured by male standards.

It seems clear to me that we must now focus on how to maximize the female half of the human resource ledger. We hear much about programs for women to teach them the rules of the game.

We hear much less about efforts to remove those factors causing managers to misuse or overlook female talent.

This can't continue for long, if only because market forces have doomed the old way of doing business. In the years just ahead, the very interpersonal skills of consensus building, mediating, moderating and dealing effectively with people in general -- skills that studies and surveys have historically identified as predominant in women -- will be recognized as the building blocks of a post industrial society. In the evolving information and service-oriented economy of the 1980s and 1990s, it's the management of people and not the management of machinery or material that will be crucial. It's interesting to flip through the American Management Association's catalog of continuing education and note the number of courses in interpersonal skills being offered to today's managers, most of whom are male.

And with the revolution taking place in this country, the tidal wave of women entering the work force, managers are, I believe, starting to grasp what we have always known: that women share with men the need for personal success, even the taste for power. And no longer are we willing to satisfy those needs through the achievements of surrogates, whether husbands, children or merely role models.

Indeed, the very concept of the role model may be endangered -- and rightfully so. For the line separating role model and tokens is a thin one, indeed. The role model is a logical by-product of a society unwilling to utilize fully the talents of all its women, and thereby eager to enshrine and celebrate those few it entrusts with meaningful tasks.

Every person in this room recognizes both the problems and the untapped potential of the 52 percent of America's workforce that's female. So do others who are working outside the limelight to advance justice wherever it is blocked, who understand how far we have come, and who know firsthand how far we have yet to travel. What all of us -- and all of them -- have in common is commitment. And with that commitment goes a vision of society as it might, and ought to, be.

That vision encompasses a limitless horizon for every woman of courage and conviction. In large measure, it is the product of women whose lives demonstrate an ability to see beyond the commonplace, and a reach for greatness that encompasses the distance between their dreams and reality.

One of the country's greatest poets was a woman who never left her home in Amherst, Massachusetts. She never worked in an office, never raised a family, never won a headline. The only power she wielded lay in her poetry. But her artistry and her vision have inspired millions.

"We dwell in possibility," Emily Dickinson wrote in her clapboard cloister nearly 150 years ago.

But we must adapt the gospel of Emily Dickinson's positive thinking to the world as it exists. We realize that for most women, success is achieved by dwelling in the improbable, by challenging the odds and overcoming the conventional wisdom.

Surely it was a combination of possibility -- and reaching for the improbable -- that led Rosa Parks to claim a seat at the front of a Montgomery bus, and thus launch a peaceful revolution a hundred years overdue. Surely it was a brush with the improbable that raised Golda Meir to the Premiership of Israel -- or suggested that Mother Teresa's responsibility to a hungry world involved far more than mere obedience to the rules of her Order.

So, even as we join together today, let us, in the pursuit of economic and social equality, continue to strive for the day when the improbable becomes the probable. Back in June 1965, I was welcomed somewhat uneasily into a circle still known as "the fellowship of educated men." I've seen enormous progress since then. I've seen the circle expand, and opportunities open up.

And I am convinced that today's women stand in the reflected light of a rising, not a setting sun. Our day has barely dawned. Our dreams are just beginning to be realized. We dwell in possibility -- but we challenge the improbable.

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